4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1949
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related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "karúkó," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related," but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In Mundurucú tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero.

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Steinen's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tape).

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given.

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader.

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting.

[Martius (source No. 2) says this occurred before head, in early time. -- Analyst]

to the men's house. A loud whoop signalled to the other men that the food was ready. Due to their hunting activities, the men usually ate in the morning and at night. The women and children ate small portions all day long if there was food in the village. When the men were in the village they often joined in these small repasts between the meals taken in the men's house.

3(2) The dwelling house

Whereas the primary locus of male social life was the village men's house, that of the female was the dwelling. Each dwelling had a headman, the husband of the oldest woman in the female line represented in the house. However, the focus of his activities was the men's house and the coordination of female activity was in the hands of his wife. He was a man of prestige and influence in the house and village, but his wife always insisted that it was she who told the other women what to do and not her husband. In general, the Tunebuwi woman worked harder than the men, but she was by no means dominated by them. She had certain duties that she knew were those of the women and she knew how to do them and when to do them. It was not the place of the male to interfere except if she was lazy.

The interior of the house was completely unpartitioned. Each woman and her children occupied a given section of the house where her belongings were kept. Closer relatives, such as true sisters, usually hung their family's hammocks adjacent to each other. Only if the husband was sick and

received the attention of his wife did he hang his hammock in the house.

513 The nuclear family within this context was clearly a less important social unit than the extended family. Its most important functions were, of course, procreation and the raising of children. The man always brought his game to his wife, but unless it was only enough for a few people, it was cooked and shared by the whole household and even the village. Man and wife performed small personal services for each other, but these could easily have been done by any other member of the opposite sex. Since the children grew up in a large family, a great deal of their upbringing was entrusted to other members of the household. By the age of five years the boys were already incorporated into groups 517 of their age mates. The younger children usually played in the village, but the groups of boys over eight years of age began to range out on the savannahs and in the smaller stretches of gallery forest, shooting small birds, gathering fruit, and bathing in the streams. The boys had great freedom and a minimum of parental supervision. Only when they were about twelve years of age did they begin to become a part of the adult economy and even this was only in certain tasks such as garden clearing, planting, and fishing. After they were married and had achieved warrior status they became fully functioning members of the community.

Girls began to help their mothers in all of the female chores at an early age, but served especially to tend the smaller children when the mothers had to work outside the village.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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in each village, and informants say that villages of four or five houses were common in the last century. 621

The men's house was of square floor plan, but had an unusual silhouette. Although a semipermanent structure, it was built in the form of a huge lean-to, open on three sides. At the southwest corner was a small, completely enclosed chamber which housed the sacred trumpets. Running from back to front of the men's house at an elevation of five feet above the ground were three long, horizontal poles. One pole ran down the middle and the other two were on the outer edges of the structure. From these poles the men hung their hammocks in two separate rows. The men of Red moiety slept in the south row, and the men of White moiety occupied the north row. 344

The Mundurucú men's house was unlike most such institutions in the degree to which it divided the everyday life of the men from that of the women. Here the division was complete. The men neither ate, slept, worked nor relaxed with their women. Every male, from the age at which his tattooing was completed and he became a full-fledged warrior, slept in the men's house. His bows and arrows were kept in the thatch above his hammock. The hammock arrangement followed moiety lines in the north-south separation of the hammock rows, and clan comembers slept adjacent to each other. They, in turn, were adjoined by members of other clans of the same phratry. Due to the fragmentation caused by matrilocal residence, several clans were represented in most men's houses. The contemporary village of Cabruá, for example, has a population of only seventy, but men of ten different clans were present. 344 621

When a Mundurucú married, there was no ceremony of any sort, and a minimum of formalities were observed. The young man or his parents went to the girl's parents and requested her hand. The request was usually granted except when the young man was for some reason undesirable to the girl's family. Prearranged marriages were common and were often the means by which cross-cousins were united. The actual event of marriage was little more than a public recognition of the alliance. The bridegroom moved to the wife's village and took up residence in the men's house there. He brought his daily kill of game to his bride's house, and his exclusive sexual rights to the girl were recognized. 585

In most other respects he had remarkably loose bonds with the household of his wife's family. He frequently went there for a between-meal snack or to play with the children. However, the large meals which he ate before and after the day's hunt at morning and at nightfall were taken in the company of the other men immediately outside of the men's house. The women of each household prepared an equal part of the food consumed there, and all of the men squatted around the common pots to eat. The separation of men and women was made complete by the fact that male craftwork, such as the manufacture of arms and baskets, was done in the men's house, and the men whiled away their idle hours there. 264 592

Even when it involved a move to a new village, matrilocality imposed no great burden on the men. They did not shift from one dwelling or household to another, but from one men's house to another. The internal arrangement of 592

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their new quarters was exactly like the one in which they had previously lived, and they found themselves again in the midst of many fellow clansmen, their "brothers" and "fathers." The village economy, which will be discussed below, necessitated no great personal readaptation nor did it require extensive retraining. If the newly-wed man was of the same village, it was not even necessary for him to move his hammock. He brought his game to a different house and he had open rights to his bride (with whom he probably had been covertly consorting). At present, the majority of the men of each Munduruc village were born in other villages and there is no reason to believe that this was different in the nineteenth century. Although a young man might be expected to mate with an eligible girl of his own village, patterns of preferential cross-cousin marriage apparently outweighed the factor of physical proximity. It was also the custom for a young man of marriage age to visit a number of villages in search of a mate. Whether or not the residents of the village men's house were native to the community, the institution served to integrate the men as a group which functioned as an economic unit in times of peace and a military organization during the frequent wars.

The basic male work unit consisted of all the males in the village. There was no task of any importance in which the men of one dwelling house, i.e., the house in which their wives resided, usually worked as a productive unit. Large, all-village communal hunts were common, and game was tracked down and surrounded or ambushed with the help of dogs. These collective techniques were especially important when hunting the large, migratory herds of wild pig, the main meat supply. Frequently, smaller groups of men pursued the chase, but there was no invariable tendency for these parties to consist of the men of a single household. Members of all households might be numbered in each of several small hunting parties.

Garden clearing was always done by a work group of all the village men, and it was considered a serious breach of etiquette for a man to refuse to co-operate. The subsequent planting of manioc shoots involved considerable labor, and all the village men and women performed this labor for each garden in turn. The rest of the planting and all of the harvesting and processing was left to the women. Occasionally, a couple went to the garden alone, but these excursions were looked upon as romantic jaunts.

Although there was no ownership of the forest land, the completed gardens were "owned" by individual men. However, all labor performed upon them was done by the men of the village as a whole, and by the women of the household in which the owner's wife lived. Also, food sharing was extensive. The products of the hunt were divided equally and distributed throughout the village, and, furthermore, each household provided a share of the food consumed in the men's house.

Due to the high degree of co-operation between all the men of the village, the newly-wed male did not become integrated into a household-oriented economy. This undoubtedly served to ease any strains in adjusting to a new village, for, in terms of kinship, the group of village males was substantially

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the same as in his native community, and he also did not come under the direct supervision of his father-in-law. Any difficulties that might arise due to lack of familiarity with his new territory were mitigated by the fact that nearly all of his activities outside the village were carried out in the company of men who had been in residence for a longer period of time.

Whereas the men's house was the locus of male activity, the life of the female revolved around the dwelling. The result of matrilocal residence was that each dwelling housed an extended family of related females, a rather unusual arrangement in a strongly patrilineal society. This can hardly be called a matrilineage for lineal descent among the Mundurucú was reckoned in the father's line, whereas the members of the household were related through their mothers. In terms of lineal institutions, each generation of females was of the opposite moiety from the women of the generation preceding and following it. The husbands of the women also belonged to the moiety opposite to that of their wives. They could come from any clan within the moiety, with the result that the men of any one household represented a number of clans. Under this system, there was no residential basis even for lineages, and the clans were scattered throughout the Mundurucú villages. Local nuclei, such as are found in most patrilineal clan systems, could consist of no more than a man, his daughters and his unmarried sons, except in the case of the chief's family as described further in this paper.

The internal order of the household is indicative of its organization. Each woman hung her hammock in close proximity to her children and her closest female relatives. The personal possessions of the women were stored near their own hammocks. There was, however, but one food larder and one fireplace. Garden produce, regardless of its origin, was shared by the extended family, and although the husband formally presented his kill of game to his wife, it was butchered, cooked and eaten by the women of the household, and a portion was sent to the men's house and the other dwellings. Only in the case of very small game such as the *cutia* and the parrot was the food cooked and eaten by the nuclear family. Otherwise, the nuclear family had no household economy whatsoever.

It has already been stated that gardens were considered to be owned by individual men but that the labor performed on them was predominantly collective. Except for manioc planting, the unit of female collective labor was the household. This pattern extended to the hard and time-consuming work of manioc processing, in which a true division of tasks was practiced. The manioc had to be dug out of the ground, carried back to the village, grated, the prussic acid extracted and, finally, toasted into the flat cakes known throughout the Amazon as *beijú* or made into manioc flour for the trader. Since all of these steps in the process could be done concurrently, the oldest woman of the household delegated certain tasks to the others. While some women were tending the fire and taking the completed product from the griddle, others were loading, unloading, and operating the *tipiti*, or manioc press. The latter women, in turn, were given a constant supply of unsqueezed manioc pulp by the

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women who were grating the raw tubers. Another party of women would be occupied in fetching fresh tubers from the garden. Tasks were rotated frequently. The requisite co-ordination and co-operation was facilitated by the bonds of enduring coresidence and relationship in the female line between the women of the household.

Just as property in land was of little importance due to the practice of shifting horticulture on unlimited forest land, ownership of the houses was an amorphous concept since the village was abandoned and a new one built every ten years. When the new village was built, everyone joined in building each other's houses. My male informants commonly referred to the dwelling as the property of the husband of the oldest woman of the house, while the women referred to the latter as the owner. When questioned closely, however, the men conceded that perhaps the oldest woman owned the house. Under either possibility, ownership *per se* was unimportant. The work of the household was generally directed by the oldest woman, and her husband enjoyed some prestige as its nominal leader. His exact functions were ill-defined, except for the exertion of influence over the women and his sons-in-law, since the men of the household did not normally operate as a co-operative group and the women went about their tasks without male direction. The controls of the house leader were informal and indirect. He owed his prestige position chiefly to age.

There is an obvious conflict between the patrilineal inheritance of the chieftaincy and matrilocal residence. This was resolved quite simply by allowing the sons of the chief to remain patrilocal and thereby provide a continuity of residence and political control. When a younger brother or son of the former chief inherited the position, he became chief of a village in which he had been born and in which his ancestors in the male line had been born and died. The term for chief, *aeyodebdat*, can be literally translated as "the owner of the village," and informants rationalized the position and title of the chief as being due to the fact that one of his lineal ancestors had first established the village. The lineal continuity of village leadership preserved integration in one respect, while weakening it in another.

An immediate consequence of the ambivalence in postmarital residence patterns was that the chief's extended family constituted a true lineage and was further augmented by the normal pattern of matrilocality through which he acquired sons-in-law. Furthermore, polygynous unions were generally a prerogative of the chief. The chief's household tended to be larger than any other in the village, and, due to the consanguineal ties of its male members, it was also the most cohesive. There is no doubt that the power of the chief was thereby considerably reinforced. During my period of residence in a Mundurucú village having substantially this structure, it was noted that there was a rather high degree of latent antagonism between the men of the chief's family and the other men of the village. The former constituted a definite ingroup within the village, which conflicted with the patterns of co-operation and egalitarianism, and which, while supporting political controls, was dysfunctional in terms of the total structure. It was not coincidental that conflict over sorcery most often revolved around the family of the chief.

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Munduruca were also being pressed into household servitude by the whites,[20] a practice common to all of Amazonia at that time. Many Munduruca accompanied their patrons to work in different regions, and others remained all year at their rubber avenues in the valley of the Tapajós. Illustrative of this spread of Munduruca over the upper Tapajós region are Coudreau's figures, which give the Munduruca population of the banks of the upper Tapajós in 1895 as 173, of the Jurueña-Bararaty rivers, 72, and of the São Manoel River, 49.[21] All these scattered Munduruca were living in Brazilian-type houses with an average population of ten in each house. This process was obviously a continuation on a local scale of the earlier spread of the Munduruca to the lower Tapajós and the Madeira tributaries.

The population of the savannah villages decreased during this period because of death from disease and loss of people to the river banks. However, the villages themselves persisted as strong social units. Two factors are mainly responsible for this: First, the chieftain, instead of losing function, actually became more important, and for some time the villages became politically more tightly integrated. The chief now had the additional position as intermediary with the white man and as such was the source of trade goods; the modern Munduruca still speak of the days when "chiefs were strong and bought everything for the people." After the patrons became firmly established and gained influence among the Indians, they began to appoint their own "chiefs," frequently without regard for the traditional system of inheritance. In time, as will be seen, this undermined the chieftaincy and became a source of conflict. Second, warfare, for both mercenary

[20] Ibid., p. 148.
[21] Coudreau, 1897, p. 166.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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ever, and the village plaza and the surrounding underbrush become dense and the lair of snakes and scorpions. As a result of this rapid decay, a new village is built every ten years, but, since the people live in the old one while building the new, it is usually constructed nearby. The remains of four old villages, representing about forty years of occupation, can be discerned within a half mile of the present location of Cabruá. Gradual exhaustion of the more favored forest lands and the necessity of walking ever farther to the gardens eventually forces a move to the vicinity of fertile soil. Accordingly, the people of Cabruá decided during our stay to build a village on a site some two miles away, and they planned to start construction during the following rainy season.

The village of Cabruá and its households have suffered greatly from depopulation because of disease and emigration. Although many of its residents had not made definite plans, at the time of our departure the new village probably would have had no more than three households, for several people were considering migration to the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. At its site in 1953, Cabruá had five dwelling houses. One was deserted, for the previous inhabitant had lost a son through an accident, and this was interpreted by the shamans to be the result of the family's inattention to their ritual duty to the sacred trumpets. The family left for another village before the trumpet spirits could exact further revenge.

The household of the chief included 17 people, and the largest house unit of the village had a population of 28. The other two houses of the village numbered 8 and 16 people. These groups constituted matrilocally-based extended families, although the continual flux and constant loss of population in recent times has disturbed this organization.

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hammocks at the middle is left open. The communal hearth that sees the entire household is in the latter section, and utensils and items of personal property are placed on platforms, the eaves or hung from the walls. A platform in one corner of the dwelling is usually reserved for the household food supply; there is only one larder, and all occupants row freely from it.

Only female and pre-pubescent boys live in the dwelling house. Each nuclear family occupies a few adjoining hammocks; but for this, one would have to question to detect household biological affiliations, for the resident extended families lead a most communal existence.

Matrilocality, it has been said, has resulted in highly diverse clan affiliations among the occupants of the men's house. Despite the generational continuity of the females and the relative stability of their residence, the same is true of them as. Daughters tend to remain in the dwellings of their mothers among the contemporary Munduruca, and the extended family-household unit consists of a group of women related in the female line. Under the system of patrilineal descent, however, the daughters belong to the moieties and clans of their fathers and, therefore, to the moiety opposite that of their mother. The women of a household are related by firm ties of consanguinity, but according to the normal system of recognizing and classifying kinsmen, their relationship has no formal lineal status. This conflict does not prevent the women from placing their closest bonds of interdependence on their co-resident mothers, sisters, and daughters, as they are classified in the kinship system, but the perpetuation of patrilineality has thus far inhibited the development of a formal, named matrilineage in which descent for certain legal purposes is reckoned. A further attrition of patrilineal inheritance could well leave the way open for such a de-

591/611 velopment, followed by ultimate transition to matrilineality, or at least a matrilineal emphasis. But such changes need time, and the recent increase of bilocality and neolocality among the Munduruká have undercut the possibility for further evolution of any form of unilineal-descent system.

591/178 Matrilocality is less uniformly practiced now than in the recent past, mainly because of the present reduced population of village and household. The extended family has been correspondingly weakened and is frequently unable to keep the married daughter if the husband does not desire to live with his affinals. Or death may cause a girl to be left without close female relatives. She may then join women who are sisters and mothers to her in a classificatory sense, but toward whom her emotional ties are weaker, or she may join her husband's family. As the extended family of related women grows weaker, so also does matrilocality. But most marriages in the savannah communities follow the rule; the most common exceptions are unions in which the couple establishes its own residence at the man's rubber avenue.

591/592 Although the Munduruká extended family is much smaller than in past times and is progressively giving way to the nuclear family, it continues as a fundamental unit in all phases of economic life. Private property in the household consists only of personal items and tools, and the [422] nuclear family has significance in the consumption economy, chiefly in the purchase of items from the trader. Garden products are shared by all members of the extended family, as are fish and game. The only exception to this rule is when game is scarce, and the day's kill consists [224] only of small animals or birds. On such occasions, the nuclear family of the hunter may consume the food, but it is just as frequently divided, albeit in small quantities, among the members of the house.

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among the members of the house. This collectivism may be seen in the fact that each household has but one fireplace, where all cooking is done. Food for the entire extended family, including the portion to be contributed to the men's house, is prepared there, and the cooking is done by any women who happen to be in the house at that time. Water is fetched from the stream in gourds by the women and is freely used by all occupants.

The unitary nature of the extended family of females in distribution and consumption applies also to the organization of production. Although gardens are nominally considered to be the property of the man who chose the site and organized the work of clearing it, the owner's wife is generally assisted in weeding and harvesting by the other women of the household. Also, any woman of the extended family feels free to go to the garden to dig yams or gather minor vegetable crops—formal ownership has limited meaning when the yield is unquestioningly shared by the household.

Cooperation and collectivism extend to relationships between households also. When a hunter kills a large game animal, it is immediately butchered, quartered, and equally divided among the houses of the villages. This is rational economic procedure, because fresh meat spoils in a very short time in the Tropics, and waste would result if the extended family kept all the kill. Furthermore, frequently only one or two men raise and kill game during a day's hunt; inter-house sharing thus has a mutual economic security aspect. But beyond these considerations, it is considered proper to divide food. Thus, even if a man from each household kills a wild pig, the animals are still quartered and divided. There is symbolic importance in such exchange, and failure to share food freely is a serious breach of etiquette. The strongest bonds of gift giving in

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and participates most intensively in the labor is illustrated by the example of two visitors in the village of Cabruá. Two elderly Mundurucú, one from the Tropas River and the other from the Cururú, arrived in the village to visit kinsmen. Both were excellent informants, and they stayed at our request longer than they had planned. They required a few trade articles that we were unable to supply and, accordingly, arranged to sell farinha to a trader. Neither had a garden in the village, and they harvested from those of relatives. Although each of the two men helped his wife in the process, other women of the village gave aid. Their cooperation was not as great as it would have been if these had been regular residents of the village, but it was still significant and given ungrudgingly. And although the wives of the two men worked with the other women throughout their stay in the village, none of the households could expect reciprocal labor from the two couples equal to that which had been extended. The people of Cabruá had simply followed the Mundurucú principle that cooperation should be given in any task in which joint effort is possible. [83]

Mutual interdependence in manioc processing is a strong integrating factor among the women. But the farinha shed offers other gratifications than the purely economic. The women talk and joke as they work there, and those not immediately engaged in the labor sit about and join the conversation. Clusters of women often congregate in the farinha shed for purely social purposes when no farinha is being manufactured. As a forum and a point of social interaction, the farinha shed serves somewhat the same function for the females as the men's house for the males.

Harmony, so obvious among the men, is not as complete among the women, however. The household unit of fe-

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571 579 592 [762] males is extremely close knit and is probably the most cohesive group in Mundurucú society. Such is the emotional bond between the women of these groups that I know of one who committed suicide because of alienation from her two sisters and house mates. But beyond the extended family, conflicts between individual women or households are common. All women of the household generally join with a member in her antipathy for another woman or household; this, of course, follows from the fact that the housemates are closely related to each other, which complements the allegiance arising from co-residence.

521 579 [125] [165] Hostility between the women generally takes the form of malicious gossip. My wife, Yolanda, was the recipient of most of the confidences that passed among the women, which constituted one of our most valuable sources of information. Coleta, an Indian girl who lived in our house and worked for us, used to regale Yolanda by the hour with tales of adultery and of the promiscuity of certain women. Coleta was an excellent source of such data, as she herself was well known for waywardness in affairs of the heart. And we usually managed to learn by this means of the well-repressed hostilities in the village, of fears and accusations of sorcery, and in general of relations between the sexes. Yolanda's participation in the gossip network brought her even closer to the women, and they, in turn, gossiped about her. One of the favored places for the exchange of female information and opinion was the shed where farinha was made. The women usually chatted animatedly as they worked there, but as soon as one left the group, the heads of the others drew together and she was thoroughly discussed; after a couple of months of residence in the village, the same thing happened, as we had no difficulty finding out, when Yolanda left their midst. Gossip is the chief form of expression of antagonism among

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583 whom he desires, he goes off to other villages in search of
[584] a mate. He will find the new men's houses in which he will stay to be organized along the same lines as the one in which he had been incorporated. And just as his strongest ties during adolescent years were to his age mates and the
[582] occupants of the men's house, so also will he find his primary association to be with the men of the village, as a whole.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

592 Patrilineal descent and matrilocal residence without vil-
621 lage endogamy give the Mundurucú an unusual social structure. This is also manifest in the realm of political organization. The oldest man of each household is nominally considered to be its leader, but I never saw the "leader" intervene in the over-all direction of women's activities, except to inform them when a consignment of farinha was promised to a trader. The actual direction of household activities is generally in the hands of its oldest woman, commonly the wife of the leader. The female director of the household exerts considerable influence over the other women because of her age and her senior status under ideally matrilocal conditions as older sister, mother, and grandmother to them. Her husband is respected by the members of the household, and by the rest of the people of the village, but he is peripheral to its main activities.

554 House leaders, as all older men, usually occupy high
621 positions on the village prestige scale. Shamans are ac-
[752] corded considerable standing, and any man who is serious in demeanor and possesses a large store of traditional knowledge is well regarded. The highest position in the
622 village, however, is that of the chief. Considerable con-
554 fusion surrounds the contemporary status of chieftainship because of historical changes in methods of selection and

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planting time a few weeks later; most, however, stay in the village. The average collecting season of the savannah Mundurucú thus lasts about two and a half to three months out of a possible period of six months.

The dwellings in which the collecting season is passed frequently consist only of a roof set on four or six upright posts, but others are larger and have walls of mud or palm leaves. Cooking is generally done in a shed connected to the rear of the house, in imitation of the typical north Brazilian kitchen. The rubber-avenue dwellings often house but one nuclear family, but if a larger group resides in the same house, all members of the nuclear family hang their hammocks adjacent to one another.

There is no firm rule dictating the composition of the membership of rubber-avenue dwellings. Residents of the same household tend to cling together during the dry season, but the limited number of rubber avenues accessible from one dwelling break up the larger extended families. In such cases, closer kinsmen within a household remain together. The availability of rubber avenues, in general, makes any strict rule of dry-season residence impracticable. They are limited in number, and a young man embarking on independent rubber collection must reside where an avenue is vacant.

The average Brazilian collector spends five or six days a week in his rubber avenue, but the campineiro rarely works more than four. And while a single Brazilian may have up to three separate avenues, working each on different days, no campineiro has more than one. Indisposition to intensive labor in rubber production thus combines with the maintenance of savannah-village residence to keep Mundurucú productivity low. The Indian collector leaves the house for his avenue early in the morning and generally returns by mid-afternoon. Besides his knife for

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cutting the bark and the metal cups in which he collects the rubber, he always carries his arms, hopeful for stray game. He wends his way through the forest, making an incision in the bark and setting a cup below it on the outward journey and collecting the latex on the way home. He frequently stops to collect fruit, shoot a monkey, or bathe. After returning home he cures the latex in a small shed built for that purpose. He then goes to the adjacent river and bathes; if it is not too late he may fish with a bow and arrow from the bank. On days when he does not visit his rubber avenue, the Munduruc hunts or fishes. He is joined by the other men of the house if there are any; otherwise his pursuit is solitary, and the favored collective-hunting techniques cannot be employed. This and the general lack of firearms, which if he had them would make lone hunting more productive, result in a marked decrease in hunting during the dry season. Fish may be taken by individuals, and the kill of a few hours is generally ample for the needs of a nuclear family. On the other hand, a solitary hunter may pass two or three days without killing more than birds or a small monkey.

Large dry-season households commonly make gardens near their rubber avenues, but single family units rarely do so because they do not have enough workers to clear forest land. The advantages of rubber-avenue gardens outweigh the labor and inconvenience of clearing and planting them. The resident families have a local supply of farinha, which would otherwise have to be made in the village and transported to the rubber avenue, a difficult chore without canoes. Also, the land in the savannah country is inferior in quality to that near the larger rivers. Almost every rubber-avenue garden is in black soil, and this favored land is extremely scarce in the vicinity of Cabruá. These gardens are therefore frequently drawn upon to sup-

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241 ply vegetables that are not available in the village. Despite these apparent benefits, the complete harvest is sometimes not brought in, and part of the produce either rots or is eaten by animals while the owners are in residence in the village during the rains.

462 The division of labor during the dry season is the result of the size of the co-resident group. If the unit is small, the men and boys often help the women in the manufacture of farinha, but if there are sufficient females to help in the task, the men do not join them. Correspondingly, a man is sometimes aided in rubber collecting by his wife or younger sons. Fishing and hunting, also, is generally done jointly by only two or three men. Larger-scale timbó-fishing expeditions are infrequent because the people are so widely dispersed. The work of rubber collecting is, 314 except for the occasional help of a wife or son, essentially individual. Even where a number of rubber tappers and [572] their families share the same residence, each man has his own avenue and unites with the others only when the day's work is done.

314 571 476 Rubber extraction fractionates villages and households during approximately one-quarter of the year, and the changed mode of residence and patterns of coöperation [574] result in a greatly increased importance of the nuclear family. One Mundurucú owned a canoe on the Tropas River and another on the Cabitutú; the only other mode [497] of transportation and communication is by trails that parallel the rivers. But the distances between houses make visiting infrequent during the rubber season, and the residence groups pass most of the period in isolation.

423 The breakdown of larger social units is paralleled in the economic realm by the individuality of rubber production and private holding of rubber avenues. The latter are private property in a limited sense only. What is "owned" is

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them through its combined purchasing power and its members have access to them. The sharing of food also fortifies the ties of interdependence. A family does not go hungry unless everybody in the village is in similar straits, and the unlucky hunter, the traveler, or the family whose garden was ruined by armadillos or wild pigs may count on housemates or neighbors in other households for aid.

Within the household, the framework of social cohesion is provided by the core of related resident females. And although the men of the household are marginal participants in its internal workings, they identify themselves with its interests and occupants to an increasing degree, as their marital union grows in age and stability. But the men are also integrated on the level of the village through the men's house, which serves as political forum, social club, and center of a male religious cult. The men's house also is the place where members of the same moiety and, perhaps, of the same phratry associate. Bonds of kinship, which ultimately include all Mundurucú in a limited set of relationships, are important deterrents to any motivation to move into a more isolated existence.

The savannah villages appear to the observer as extremely well-knit and unified organizations, and the ease with which new residents or visitors are integrated into them is an impressive display of tribal solidarity. But such harmony is difficult to maintain. Hostilities may be repressed, but not indefinitely or completely. Mundurucú culture provides few escape valves for aggression. Warfare was formerly the ideal vent for latent hostility, and it had the dual advantage of affording an external outlet and requiring social solidarity by arraying the tribe against a common foe.

The lapse of warfare left only the execution of sorcerers

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done by the men, women, and children, working in common.

An entirely new work pattern and division of labor grew out of these necessary changes. As other households were established in the growing villages, they too fell into the same system, for the earlier households, regardless of size, had become established as the basic unit in the production and consumption economies. Unless the newcomer had a very close blood tie with an established household and could thus be included in its economic arrangements, he would have to form his own economic unit, consisting of himself and his family.

Once a social change is made and a new adjustment found, it is almost impossible to turn the clock back and reëstablish what has been lost. This is evident among the Mundurucú, and part of the irreversibility of process is in this case due to the women. They, especially, liked the new work arrangements. They now shared many tasks with the men and enjoyed a correspondingly improved status in relation to the opposite sex. The Cururú woman works less than her sisters of the savannahs and has no desire to return to the rigid social and economic cleavage between the sexes. Her relatively greater amount of free time enables her to help more in the rubber avenues than the savannah woman, but since this further solidifies the male-female economic bond and gives her a greater claim to the proceeds of the cash product, the extra work redounds ultimately to her advantage. This and the fact that the whetted appetite of the Cururú woman for finery and other, more utilitarian, articles of Western civilization is seemingly limitless make her a formidable factor in social change.

In view of all this, it is understandable that no Mun-

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a distinctively Brazilian trait. The village site is a well-wooded, long, rectangular clearing throughout which the houses are scattered. On the periphery of the clearing are the latex-smoking sheds of the men who are able to use the village as a base of rubber-tapping operations. Paths radiate outward from the village in the direction of the port on the Cururú River, the watering place, the gardens, and the rubber avenues. One little-used path goes beyond to connect with the network of trails which interconnect the savannah villages. Today, this is one of the two remaining trails linking that region with the Cururú.

The size of the average savannah household is but a shadow of former days, but it is still much larger than that of the Cururú. Of the ten occupied houses in Missão Velha, six contain but one nuclear family each, two houses are the residences of groups composed of two families, and two houses have three nuclear families each. Co-residence is based on kinship in the multifamily dwellings, but relationship is just as often in the male line as in the female. Significantly, in all cases of joint residence, each nuclear family occupies a definite section of the house, which is partitioned off by a wattle-and-daub wall.

Although co-residence implies kinship, the converse does not hold true in Missão Velha. Several villagers were related by close ties of consanguinity but maintained separate dwellings. Such kinsmen, however, frequently joined forces in clearing and planting gardens. Except for these joint efforts which are not an invariable rule and which never include more than two or three nuclear families, the household is the basic economic unit. The division of labor in this village and on the Cururú, in general, is in marked contrast to the savannahs, for not only is the average household composed of a smaller number of families, but there is little coöperation between the houses.

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159 578 759 756 a leader in the movement for execution. Although many of these bonds were probably not permanently fractured by the dispute, they were all certainly placed under strain. The fact that first-degree kinsmen, not to mention clan fellows, can become embroiled in internecine strife that can result in the withdrawal of one of the parties is indicative of the progressive weakening of kin bonds. The ethic of harmony and nonviolence that was associated with the traditional institutions of descent and residence continues to some extent on the Cururú River, but it does not prevent social disruption.

184 571 [592] Another noteworthy contrast between Missão Velha and the savannah villages is the lower level of social interaction in the former. It has been pointed out that the household, most often a nuclear family, is the basic economic unit of the Cururú River Mundurucú. The same applies to everyday social intercourse, for not only are the men's house and the all-village collective female labor of the savannah farinha shed absent, but visiting between houses is also less frequent. After the day's labors, the husband, wife, and children usually sit around their own fire to eat and talk, and afterward retire to their hammocks. Occasionally a [579] neighbor and his family will visit briefly. Visiting is almost always done in groups with two or three families coming together at one time. The all-male or all-female gatherings of the savannahs which have for their respective nuclei the men's house and the farinha shed are absent.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE CURURÚ VILLAGES

182 578 The conflict over sorcery in Missão Velha is typical of the schisms constantly arising in the Cururú villages and which account, in part, for the fact that the average village population is on the decline with a corresponding increase in the number of villages. In addition, many people are